FREEDOM

An Anarchist Monthly

NEW SERIES, VOL. I, No. 17 NOVEMBER, 1933 FIVE CENTS

Notes and Comments

Two Editors Differ:

It is possible for men to have different points of view without differing in principle. Therefore we have no hesitation in opposing comrade Jagendorf's statement in his article, *The New Terror or The New Nationalism*, in our last issue that "Italy (meaning the Fascisti) dreamed of the grandeur of bygone days, talked a great deal and rarely took severer measures against opponents than castor oil." Excluding the persecution of the Jews as a race, the regime of Mussolini has been as bloody and as brutal as Hitler's. There was no anti-Semitic background in Italy as there was in Germany, (Rome even had a Jew for mayor some twenty-five or thirty years ago), so it would have been more difficult to incite people there against the Jews on the ground that they were the cause of poverty and economic disorder than it has been in Nazi Germany. It is a tragic fact that anti-Semitism has existed in Germany for generations and Hitler merely capitalized it. Mussolini would have done likewise without hesitation had it been necessary and had the soil been fertile for it. It is unfortunately too true that Mussolini is just now benefiting from the persecution of the Jews in Germany, for in the sadism of Hitler and his cohorts, coupled with the influence of the Jews in other countries, the terror in Italy has been overshadowed. It is being forgotten that after eleven years of Mussolini's bloody rule censorship is more oppressive than ever; and only two years ago we saw more soldiers in Rome and Florence than in ten cities in southern Germany, in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Vienna, Nice, Paris and London combined. Without in the smallest degree minimizing the bloody rule of Hitler, the situation in Italy is as bad as can be, as any well informed Italian can testify. Malatesta said two years ago, in answer to our question, how long will it last: No one can tell, everyone is opposed, no one seems to have the courage to resist.

Explaining the Socialist Vote:

"The Socialists in the Mayoralty election cast only 63,450 votes. That is not a very good showing for a party which rallied 175,697 votes under Thomas in 1929 and 251,656 under Hillquit in 1932. But the result is not altogether the fault of the party or its standard bearer this year, Mr. Solomon. He was doubtless deserted not only by radicals who voted for LaGuardia but by many conservatives who had voted for the Socialist candidate in the last two previous elections as a protest against Walker and O'Brien."

—Editorial, *New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1933

Life is like that. Sometimes a fellow is deserted by the "radicals" and at other times by the "conservatives," thus making it very difficult for candidates for office to know what kind of platform to construct and how to stand on it after it has been constructed. Of course, some day a candidate may build his own platform and stand on it and that would be interesting because it would be anarchistic. And speaking of candidates, the one we liked best was Bernard S. Deutsch who, running for President of the Board of Aldermen, stands pledged to work for the abolition of that body at the earliest possible moment. The job pays $20,000 a year and if the mayor happens to die or, like Jimmy Walker, to resign, the president of the board of aldermen succeeds him. This is the first time within our memory that a man was elected to an office he pledged himself to abolish, if elected. We trust that this first candidate to be elected on an "anarchistic" platform will not be allowed to renege on his pledge.

Bastard Syndicalism:

Gerard Swope, president of the General Electric Company, like other intelligent members of his class realized some time ago that geographical representation in government just doesn't work in a modern industrial age. In other words, lawyers, real estate brokers, insurance men and delicatessen merchants are incompetent to conduct affairs of which they know nothing. We have been saying the same thing for generations and our remedy is control of industry based upon voluntary cooperation of the workers in the various industries. Mr. Swope, however, as one who believes that the wheels are made to go around because of the profit motive, has been lying awake nights trying to devise a system which would save profits and privilege and at the same time place control of industry in the hands of its "captains" instead of in those of politicians. His scheme is to have a national economic

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Federation of Anarchist Groups of Cuba

To the Cuban Workers and the People in General:

The Anarchist Federation of Cuba, conscious of its responsibility in these times of confusion in the labor movement of Cuba, a confusion due to the influence of the Communist Party and the Communistic National Confederation of Labor, is obliged to expose to public opinion—to the workers—the base behavior of the Communist Party and the C.N.O. during the last days of that great movement of the Cuban people that spread throughout the Republic and hastened the downfall of the tyrant. We want to call the attention of the workers to the dangers in the attitude of that organized mob of fanatics who are willing to resort even to murder—to any and all means—against those workers who do not allow themselves to be hypnotized or influenced by their hysteria.

A Pact With the Butcher

The pie-cards of the Communist Party of Cuba and the C.N.O. — Cesar Vilar, Vicente Alvarez Rubio, Joaquin Fau, Francisco Gonzalez, Jesus Vazques, Pedro Berges y Ordoqui (el Bizco) —were the ones who personally promised Machado, the Butcher of Las Villas, that the striking proletariat would return to work, and it was they who so eagerly and unsuccessfully tried to make the workers restore transportation to normal.

The Proofs

We believe that truth is the most powerful weapon, and it is the one we use. We want everyone to know the truth! On August 7th, 1933, when the general strike against Machado and his regime had the whole island in its grip, Machado became frightened and foresaw his early downfall; he was desperate. The strike became more intense as the days passed and the tyrant saw that normalcy was impossible if it continued. At this juncture the so-called Central Committee of the Confederation in order to curry favor with the tyrant, with full authority from its bolsheviki commissioners, offered and arranged for a pact with the government of Machado which was worthy of them. When the Communist delegates left the presidential palace they stated that they were satisfied and happy with their "triumph."

On the 8th, the day following the massacre of unarmed people by the machine-gun fire at the order of Zubiarreta and Ainciart, the self-styled "Central Strike Committee" was banqueting at the luxurious restaurant "El Carmelo" in the fashionable Vedado, where they were taken in luxurious cars with passes issued by the military officials Rogelio Caballero and General Alberto Herrera, Machado's Secretary of War.

There were twenty plates and as many guests, the bill being taken care of by "Miari" as the representative of the Communist Party Cell in the Union of Motormen and Conductors. That banquet was arranged after another interview held between the above mentioned "Central Committee" and Machado. Everything that the Committee requested, Machado granted. Everything this hyena had ever despised and rejected during eight years of tyranny, oppression and cruelty he granted on friendly terms to the Communists representing the Cuban National Confederation of Labor. He agreed to Recognize the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense, to grant them the administration and direction of the "General Machado" Temporary Camp for Destitutes, with the immediate withdrawal of its military supervision, as well as to satisfy other requests.

The "Central Committee" harangued the masses nervously and attempted to compel them to return to work . . . inasmuch as the demands made on the masters had been granted, especially those of the transportation industries. This hateful authoritarianism on the part of Vilar, Ordoqui and the rest of the traitors was given the answer it deserved. To their command that the workers return to work the answer was a most emphatic refusal from the transport workers, as well as the rest of the strikers, who decided that they would obey only their own consciences and continue their passive resistance until Machado, "the hyena," should resign. The Havana Labor Federation, with which the largest number of non-political labor unions are affiliated, could not meet for the lack of signed authorization from the government. Only the Communists, thanks to their betrayal, received that authorization; armed with revolvers, while constitutional guarantees were suspended, they held meetings and rode automobiles burning gasoline supplied to them from the barracks of the Army in San Ambrosio, no one else being able to get any because the gasoline stations had been closed by the strike.

Cesar Vilar, a man without a shadow of scruple or shame, conceived the idea that he could become a tropical Nero in the coming elections, although he should have known better from previous experience—when he ran for the Governorship the workers gave him the cold shoulder, preferring to stick by the various organizations belonging to the Havana Labor Fed-

eration, founded by that unforgettable martyr, Alfred Lopez.

On the 9th, the strike was as firm as on the first day; no one could command the workers to return to their jobs. The Communists did all they could as part of their bargain for "recognition" by Machado, but were unsuccessful.

The Assault

The people of Cuba, workers especially, who are interested in getting rid of the present system, who are sincerely fighting for a society free from tyrants big or small, from above or from below, should prepare themselves to meet the danger of the lying propaganda of the Cuban bolsheviks of the C.P. and the C.N.O.C. We, who as anarchists work for a deep and complete social change and want none of the State to remain, feel that such a fanatic and narrow propaganda has always been and will continue to be a danger to human dignity and all ideas of freedom.

The cowardly and dastardly attack on a meeting of the Construction Workers of the Havana Labor Federation at Zulueta 37, made by an armed mob at the instigation of the Communist leaders, who very conveniently remained hidden, and which resulted in one killed and many wounded; their action in calling police and soldiers to their assistance and slandering their opponents, who had consistently urged the workers to persist in their passive resistance until the tyrant should resign, while at this very same time they themselves were meeting Machado and making a "peace pact" with him, shows the danger the bolshevik movement holds for Cuba.

The leaders of the Communist party and bosses of the Confederation, bribed by the Syndical Latin-American Confederation of Montevideo, Uruguay and the Machado Government, are provoking American Intervention in Cuba in order that their treachery and fraud may not be bared and the proletariat turn to direct, non-political anti-parliamentarian action, from which the Communists have tried to keep them.

In conclusion, we want the workers and the people of Cuba in general to know that the Prado 123, where the Confederation has its offices, was rented with money from the Machado rulers, and the furniture in those offices was forcibly taken from the Havana Labor Federation with the help and permission of Alberto Herrera, Machado Secretary of War, thanks to the treason of the Communists who rule over the National Federation of Cuba.

Public Relations Committee of the
Anarchist Federation of Cuba

Havana, August 28, 1933

An Anarchist Diploma Mill

To the Editors of Freedom:

Some time ago the daily press reported the uncovering of Diploma Mills, from which one could buy diplomas for ready cash, in eastern States.

It seems to me that Los Angeles is trying to outdo the eastern Diploma Mills, though of course, in a different way. If an individual has any desire to mingle with anarchists and other radicals, and a classification as such will help his ends in any way Los Angeles is the place where one can get such a diploma.

Two specific instances will substantiate my assertion.

At an Anarchist conference held on April 29, 30 and May 1st, 1932, Prof. H. Briggs was invited to deliver the opening address, and was presented as a friend and supporter of the anarchist movement. After his talk another Anarchist, Charles T. Sprading, made a campaign speech in behalf of Prof. A. H. Briggs as a candidate for Superior Court Judge on the Anti-Saloon League Ticket, of which Prof. Briggs is the State Superintendent. The question arises how can a person running as candidate for Superior Court Judge, who is also a State Superintendent of the bigoted Anti-Saloon League be invited to address an Anarchist conference, and be classified as a friend of the Anarchist movement? It is beyond my comprehension. But Dean T. H. Bell gave him a diploma as a 75% Anarchist.

The second instance, which prompts me to write my epistle is Comrade T. H. Bell's defense of Fred Moore in September FREEDOM.

If the comrades of Los Angeles or any other City want to arrange a testimonial dinner or a memorial meeting to any living or dead individual it is their affair, but when they come to the defense of their protege in the Anarchist press it becomes the concern of everyone who is connected with the Anarchist movement.

It seems to me that Comrade Bell has neither seen or read the book "The Letters of Sacco-Vanzetti." If he had he would not have referred to it as a "little book." I have before me the book published by "The Viking Press, Inc.," containing 430 pages. Can a book of that size be classified as a little book? (Why the belittling, Comrade Bell?) The book is irrelevant and immaterial to Comrade Bell. The issue with him is not the documentary evidence against Fred Moore, but to give him a Diploma as a Radical, and to depict his death as a great loss to the radical movement.

Comrade Bell states that "At the time when Sacco accused Fred Moore of 'trickery' and as his worst enemy he was in a highly excited state of mind." I shall not

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1933.

Of FREEDOM, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for November 1, 1933, State of New York, County of New York:

Before me, a notary public, in and for the State and county, aforesaid, personally appeared Claire Comorau who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of FREEDOM and that the following is to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3rd, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—Road to Freedom Publishing Assn., P. O. Box 111, Station O, New York City.

Editor—Harry Kelly, P. O. Box 111, Sta. O., New York City.

Managing Editor—None.

Business Manager—Claire Comorau, P. O. Box 111, Station O, New York City.

2. That the owner is: (if owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

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Claire Comorau,
Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of October, 1933.

Agnes L. Ashton.

[SEAL] (My commission expires March 30, 1935.)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

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council composed of thirty-four members: five government officials, five laymen, eight labor representatives and four each from commerce and industry, agriculture, transportation and finance. He links the plan to the NRA, asserting that such a body as he suggested would act in a somewhat similar capacity. As we see it, the five government officials would be politicians, the five laymen probably college presidents, clergymen, and what not, all of them with a profit-making psychology, and the rest, members of his own class (?) thus leaving the decisions of the eight labor representatives at the mercy of the twenty-six other members. It isn't good enough, Mr. Swope. We appreciate your compliment in stealing some planks from the syndicalist platform. But the essence of Syndicalism is the absence of the profit system and nothing less will satisfy us. After that and when men realize the difficulty of determining how much a man who has punched one hole in an automobile has produced they might pool it all and establish a system of Anarchist-Communism, which embodies the "cultural heritage of the technical arts" and says to all men, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

H. K.

To the Anarchists

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15TH

is the night for frolicking merriment

THE STELTON MODERN SCHOOL

Daybreak Costume Ball

is the occasion

Webster Manor 119 East 11th Street

is the address

75 cents

is the price of a ticket

AN ANARCHIST DIPLOMA MILL

(*Continued from page* 3)

attempt an analysis of such a sophisticated illusive argument. I leave this to the readers of FREEDOM.

"It is significant that Vanzetti, a man with no family ties to wrench his heart and disturb his mental equilibrium, a man moreover of a more equable temperament, did not write like that," says Comrade Bell.

In answer to these assertions we will briefly review Fred Moore's connection with the infamous Sacco-Vanzetti case.

Fred Moore as a lawyer made a practice of defending persecuted labor and radical cases and therefore was looked upon as a radical by the reactionaries and radicals alike. The appearance of Fred Moore as chief counsel in the Sacco-Vanzetti case was a detriment to the case and not a gain.

"The chief counsel for these Italians, Fred H. Moore, was a Westerner, himself a radical and a professional defender of radicals. In opinion as well as in fact, he was an 'outsider.' Unfamiliar with the traditions of the Massachusetts bench, not even a member of the Massachusetts bar, the characteristics of Judge Thayer unknown to him, Moore found neither professional nor personal sympathies between himself and the Judge. So far as the relations between court and counsel, seriously, even if unconsciously, affect the temper of a trial, Moore was a factor of irritation and not of appeasement." (The Story of the Case, p. 334.)

Any ethically minded lawyer would have voluntarily withdrawn from the case when he saw his connection with it was a detriment to his clients, and it seems that the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee asked his withdrawal from the case. The appearance of the "New Trial League Committee" with Fred Moore at its head tells the story.

"Do you remember? Well, from that day I told you to get out of my case, and you promised me that you was going to get out, but my dear Mr. Moore, I see that you are still here in my case, and you still continue to play your famous game. Of course it is pretty hard to refuse such sweet pay that has been coming to you right long-in-this-big-game. Is it not true what I said? If it is not the truth, why did you not finish my case then? Another word, if this was not the truth you would quit this job for long time." (From Sacco's letter to Fred Moore, p. 22-23.)

Sacco's resentment was perfectly justified, seeing clearly that Moore was looking upon the case as a mere nice fat job.

As to Vanzetti's opinion, perhaps the following will help to clear up the question:

"I think that Moore has left the Defense, but I am not sure of it. If so it may be better for us." (From a letter to Blackwell, p. 127.)

"Towards the close of 1924, Mr. William G. Thompson, later joined by Mr. Herbert B. Ehrmann, superseded Mr. Fred H. Moore and the other counsel for the men. Vanzetti was profoundly pleased with this change." (p. 137.)

"As a matter of fact, the Governor can free us, if he wishes it. But why should he? Why should I expect clemency from him who denies me justice? My enemies: the Judge, the prosecutor, my former lawyers, the Supreme Court, the Governor, his council, the Chamber of Commerce, the Plymouth Cordage Co. The Governor and the President are all of the same parties." (p. 167-168.)

Comrade Bell says that Vanzetti with his equable temperament did not write like Sacco. The quotations prove emphatically quite the contrary.

In conclusion I will say that such methods and actions of individuals or groups are responsible for the confusion prevailing in the Anarchist movement.

Theo. L. Miles

San Francisco, Oct. 11th, 1933.

Shanghai, Sept., 1933.

Dear Comrades:

You are always in my memory since I left New York. My sojourn in Europe was not long, but interesting. I found myself very optimistic to see the heroic struggle in revolutionary Spain, where I stayed about 60 days. I hope that I will be there again next year to live with our brave comrades who would give their lives willingly for our beloved ideal. I arrived in Shanghai yesterday, after having spent two weeks in my native town. Shanghai is a great city, you know. But here I find only a few comrades, who occupy themselves with the work of publishing Kropotkin's complete works in Chinese, with illustrations. Some comrade tells me that there is a great Anarchist movement in several provinces of South China, such as Fukien and Kwantung. I will go to these places and will tell you what I see there. Hope you succeed in your propaganda. With my best greetings to all of you.

Cordially yours,

Yuton

Dear Harry:

We are yelling all over the world "Proletarians of all nations unite", but we don't do it ourselves. Why don't the Anarchists of America set an example in unity? Here we are publishing four monthly papers, knowing that after four years of depression there is not enough money among the comrades to maintain them. I consider it a crime to ask comrades to contribute money to keep something alive that is bound to die under present conditions. It is simply a waste of money and energy. Or have we four different kinds of Anarchism that have to be propagated separately in four different papers? If this is the case we may as well lie down and call the undertaker.

Why can't an effort be made to get together and publish *one* weekly or bi-monthly paper instead of four monthlies?

The case is actually getting ridiculous. Can't this question be taken up in FREEDOM and debated to find out why we can't get together.

I would like to hear an explanation with no beating around the bush. Shoot straight.

Detroit, Oct. 7, 1933 Yours, Carl Nold

Miracles are possible. If you don't believe it what about the repeal of prohibition . . . and Bob Minor, candidate for Mayor of New York on the Communist ticket, appearing before Tammany Mayor O'Brien with Louis Untermyer, millionaire lawyer, Bernard H. Ridder, owner of the German capitalist daily The Staats Zeitung, and Mr. Ryan, president of the Tammany controlled Central Trades and Labor Council, to request prohibition of a public meeting arranged by the United German Societies—because Nazi speakers were announced and if the meeting was allowed it might cause a riot and result in bloodshed? The meeting was prohibited.

The subject of the paper is open for discussion but for ourselves we would say when FREEDOM was launched it was done so as a "movement paper" and in the hope that it might fill a "long felt want." Evidently it didn't judging by the support or non-support accorded it. The *Vanguard* want a paper that will limit itself to Anarchist-Communist, and the *Clarion* does not call itself an anarchist paper. *Man* published on the Pacific coast probably has the same conception of Anarchism as FREEDOM but we are sure only of one thing and that is it expresses itself differently. This is an explantion and not a defense. We did our best to issue an interesting weekly but our best was not good enough. We are now doing our best to publish an interesting monthly and it is up to the comrades to say if that best is good enough. H. K.

Joseph A. Labadie Dies

Acquired title of "Gentle" Radical through years of forceful writings

Joseph A. Labadie, the "Gentle Anarchist," died today in Receiving Hospital. He was brought to the hospital from his country home "Bubbling Waters," out Grand River Avenue, several days ago.

Of Labadie, dean of Detroit's Bohemia, it was once said that not to know him was not to know Detroit.

Descendant of an Objibway Indian chief, his great-great-grandfather having been the head of a band that lived on the site where Detroit now stands, he was a picturesque figure in the Detroit of the late nineteenth century. An anarchist who did not believe in force, he had been first a Greenbacker, then a Socialist, but alway a friend of labor. For more than 40 years he was a collector of economic literature that eventually found an honored place in the University of Michigan historical archives, a collection that was not to be duplicated anywhere in the country, much of the material being out of print.

While a close student of all the theories of Socialistic leaders, and a friend of Emma Goldman for years, he believed in a radical agitation coupled with slow, safe, conservative action. He declared that anarchy insists that two wrongs do not make one right, and that physical force was justified only in defense of sane and normal social industrial conditions in society, which can be obtained only by the freedom of assembly, the freedoom of the press and the freedom of speech.

Opposed to coercion, he believed that all human nature is good, and that men, if left to themselves, without the intervention of statutes, would obey the great natural laws. The doctrine, of individual sovereignty, which he preached, was the solution of social evils, as he expressed it.

Detroit News, October 7, 1933

He knew the Chicago anarchists, was in Chicago to see them and had to "shake hands" with them by putting his little finger through the grating. He was a friend of men like Debs, Darrow, Henry George and Gompers as well as Benj. R. Tucker with whose theories he was substantially in accord; with Kropotkin, Armand, J. Wm. Lloyd, John Henry Mackay, E. H. Fulton, Ross Winn, Henry Bool, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Carl Nold, Voltairine de Clyre and others too numerous to mention. A colorful, varied and useful life as well as an inspiration to the youth. We salute the old warrior in his passing.

BOOK REVIEW

Gandhiism versus Socialism, by Richard B. Gregg, No. 17, the John Day Pamphlets. 1932. New York.

Since the day when Gandhi the prosperous lawyer read Thoreau's essay on *The Duty of Civil Disobedience,* and his whole attitude towards society was changed, until the present time when, according to imperialist newspapers, he has again been "defeated," there has been a steady evolution in his thought towards the Anarchist goal. The best short statement of this thought is given by his life-long friend Mr. Gregg very clearly.

"Governments, banks, laws and ruling classes are only the exterior instruments of management. The real control comes from ideas and sentiments—a scheme of values, a set of ideals or activities which people are induced to desire and accept as right, fitting and praiseworthy." It is to the essential features of capitalism that Gandhi has shown his unerring opposition; and although the author confuses lack of control with anarchy, not realizing that Anarchism means personal, individual self-control instead of control through fear by the church and state, the opposition of Gandhi's ideas to Socialism and Communism is shown.

The five points wherein Gandhi weakens all governmental schemes are: 1. *Money*—"Bankers create financial credit; Gandhi creates moral trust, faith and credit. The symbols that the bankers use are coins and paper instruments of obligation. The symbols that Gandhi uses are the wearing of khaddar and simplicity of living." Gandhi's refusal to value money above character has been proven daily for years; and many bankers today have neither character nor money. 2. *Physical violence*—I have spoken in these columns before of the months without any violence on the part of his followers. "By being violent themselves, the people tacitly make a fundamental agreement with the ruling class—namely: that violence is the surest way of settling conflict." The morale of British soldiers has been lowered by the non-violent mass action of Gandhi's followers. Gandhi with his fasting is able to bring the British Government to terms that no amount of bombs could bring. "Some Socialists may protest that they do not believe in violence, but no Socialist party in power has yet given adequate proof of such belief," proving that all government rests upon violence. 3. *Social divisions and flatteries*—MacDonald, who could not be scared or bought during the war, succumbed to social flattery, and has been the chief opponent of Gandhi. The whole system of snobbery, honors and degrees, dress suits, etc., has been reduced to absurdity by the contrast of the simple attire of Gandhi. The American labor movement offers sufficient proof, from Powderly to Woll, of the power of social position to effect the perhaps unconscious desertion of ideals. Even the workers seeks to "keep up with the Joneses." "Gandhiism does not talk of the expropriation of the ruling class. Instead, it proceeds to demolish the values and symbols which are the source and inner strength of the ruling class." 4. *Parliamentarism*—"Gandhiism never gives to the State the paramount power accorded to it by Socialism. The freedom of the human conscience is a priceless treasure. . . . The Socialists, it seems, do not trust the nature of the individual man but insist on an exterior supreme authority." Forming of commissions and endless talk in legislatures confuse the issues which are many times decided on personalities instead of principle; in fact, the use of talk to delay action and the refusal of any department to take responsibility or really face an issue is the very esssence of modern government. It has so invaded our common life that those of us who are at all awake to conditions "speak, write, or go to meetings and listen," and think that we have done something, meanwhile daily paying tribute to the capitalist Caesar by upholding his system of values Gandhi's spinning wheel, his adoption of an "untouchable" girl, breaking of caste rules, etc., gives his followers something more to do than just to talk or to become excited over an election. 5. *Large Scale Organization*—It has proven a failure, as shown by the depression. Those brainy men who were supposed to know high finance were the ones most easily fleeced by match kings. Ford has come to realize that his huge plant drew millions to Detroit who were left destitute when the bottom fell out of the "two cars in a garage" philosophy. He and Ralph Borsodi and Stuart Chase point the way to a decentralization of industry, although without the practicability of the method of Gandhi. We of the West whose states are all based on military violence, value a large army, a large navy, and of course a large industrial plant. Anyone who has worked in a large-scale industry knows of the monstrous red tape and inefficiency existing there. The heads of an organization cannot possibly know all of the details; their information upon which decisions are based comes from "yes" men who do not want to lose favor or promotion. Unjust orders, therefore, must be given and enforced. Some combination of industry and small farms or, as Borsodi calls it, "Homestead" life, is the solution. In a small community values of character are established and wise decisions can be made. Gandhi desires *quality,* not *quantity;* while the typical American is like the resident of Los Angeles, who

boasts of the "best" climate and the "biggest" city—having incorporated miles of the countryside within the city limits.

It is likely that Gandhi still believes in a minimum of function by the State, though in his reply to me written from Yeroda prison concerning this matter nothing was said directly; the letter had the mark of the censor on it and political matters were not discussed. The whole tenor of his life has been and is an inspiration to those who seek courageously to build for peace and freedom.

Ammon A. Hennacy

CONCERT AND DANCE

for

F R E E D O M

November 25th, 1933

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Wednesday, December 6th—Harry Kelly
Subject to be announced

Wednesday, December 13th—Patrick Quinlan
"The Collapse of International Socialism and Its Failure to Meet New Forces in Europe."

Wednesday, December 20th—Walter Starret
Subject to be announced

Wednesday, December 27th—Debate between Sam Weiner and Julius Mastin
Subject: "Is Communism the Way Out?"

SUNDAYS (OPEN-FORUMS)

Sunday, December 3rd—Werner Marchand
Subject: "Mutual Aid in Nature and Evolution."

Sunday, December 10th—Aba Gordon
Subject to be announced

Sunday, December 17th—Dr. Michael Cohn
Subject: "The Way Out"

Sunday, December 24th—Glenn Carrington
Subject: "The Negro."

Sunday, December 31st—Dr. Globus
Subject: "Anarchism, Socialism, and Communism."

FUNDS FOR FREEDOM

Monthly Pledges

Dr. Michael A. Cohn	$5.00
D. Isacovitz	2.00
Harry Kelly	2.00
Dr. M. Jagendorf	2.00
Sarah Cohen	1.00
Minnie Schwartz	1.00
Jack Frager	1.00
Claire Comorau	1.00
Tania Schapiro	1.00
Anna Strahl	1.00
Elsie Kelly	1.00

Financial Report—November

Income

Cash on Hand	$23.05
Group F.A.S., Detroit	5.00
Mohegan Group	5.00
4 Shillings, Money Order—Fleming, Australia	.84
Loan from a Comrade	30.00
Sarah Cohen	1.00
C. Comorau	1.00
J. Frager	1.00
M. Schwartz	1.00
A. Strahl	1.00
Freedoms Sold	.80
Chicago Gathering (through Yelensky)	20.00
Picnic Tickets	1.50
Sub. J. S.	2.00
Pledge D. Isacovitz	2.00
Debate Mohegan	3.50
Total	$98.69

Expenditures

Marstin Press	$55.00
Notary for P. O.	.25
Postage	.79
I. W. M. A. Subscription	2.00
Postage for mailing FREEDOM	10.00
Advanced for Postage	1.00
On Loan to a Comrade	20.00
Accounts Outstanding	
Balance Due Marstin Press	$378.53
Balance Due Comrade on Loan	10.00
	$388.53
Cash on Hand	$ 9.65
Total Deficit to Date	$378.80*

*This debt *MUST* be paid. Send in your subscriptions, donations, pledges, contributions, and what have you, immediately to FREEDOM, P. O. Box 111, Station O, New York.